

## Message Text

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41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

OMB-01 ACDA-07 SAJ-01 SAM-01 EB-07 OES-06 SAL-01 /096 W

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R 240954Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6499

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

F

FHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2009

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USNATO 1045

US MISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5683

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SP

SUBJECT: NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA'S OUTLOOK

REF: (A) FS 405 BIO REPORT, DEC. 19, 1974

(B) MADRID 8963, DEC 22, 1975

(C) MADRID 0534, JAN 23, 1976

1. OREJA, ALTHOUGH A CAREER DIPLOMAT, HAS REALLY BEEN MORE OF A POLITICIAN, ON OF THE NEW BREED OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLAS INTERESTED IN OPENING THE POLITICAL WINDOWS OF SPAIN TO THE WINDOW OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. HE TOOK A LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE SOME YEARS AGO TO DEDI-  
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CATE HIMSELF TO BUSINESS AND POLITICS. THIS SAID, OREJA IS

NOT EXACTLY A NOVICE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. INDEED HIS FIRST MENTOR WAS FRANCO'S LONG TIME FOREIGN MINISTER CASTIELLA. AND HE WAS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH AREILZA, AND WAS REILZA'S IMMEDIATE CHOICE FOR UNDERSECRETARY WHEN HE CAME INTO THE CABINET. IN TERMS OF EXPERTISE, HE DID HIS DOCTORAL THESIS ON LAW OF THE SEA AND THOUGH HE DISCLAIMED, DURING OXMAN'S VISIT, KNOWLEDGE OF SPECIFICS HE IS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN THIS ISSUE AND IN SECURING SOME ADVANTAGE FOR SPAIN'S INTEREST IN LOS.

2. OREJA HAS LONG BEEN FRIENDLY WITH AMERICANS. APPARENTLY NOT SHARING CASTIELLA'S RATHER COOL ATTITUDE TOWARDS US. I HAVE HAD CONSIDERABLE CONTACT WITH OREJA IN THE LAST YEAR AND HAVE FOUND HIM FRANK, FRIENDLY AND BUSINESS-LIKE. IN FACT, AT FIRST GLANCE HIS OPERATION IS LIKELY TO BE MORE BUSINESSLIKE THAN AREILZA'S, WHO WAS NO SLOUCH AT GETTING THINGS DONE. (THE CONTRAST IS REMARKABLE WITH CORTINA WHO SPENT ALL OF HIS TIME SPOUTING JUDICIAL PRINCIPLE.) OREJA WAS A LEADER GRANTEE AND HAS TOLD US OF HIS APPRECIATION THAT WHILE A MEMBER OF THE DEMI-OPPOSITION TO FRANCO EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE IN FREQUENT TOUCH WITH HIM AND KEPT HIM INTRODUCED TO VISITING AMERICAN VIPS.

3. OREJA CLEARLY DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE FRANCO REGIME IN OCTOBER, 1974, WHEN, FOLLOWING THE ABRUPT DISMISSAL OF PIO CABANILLAS AS MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM, HE RESIGNED FROM HIS POSITION AS UNDERSECRETARY IN SOLIDARITY WITH HIS CHIEF. ON TWO OCCASIONS OREJA SHOWED CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL COURAGE BY OPPOSING IN THE MOVEMENT'S NATIONAL COUNCIL WHAT HE CONSIDERED AN INADEQUATE DRAFT LAW ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. TOGETHER WITH AREILZA, CABANILLAS, AND FRAGA HE HELPED ORGANIZE "FEDISA" A POLITICAL STUDY GROUP WHICH OPENLY OPPOSED THE 1974 LAW ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. BUT OREJA FOUND HIS REAL POLITICAL HOME AS A LEADER OF TACITO, THE PROGRESSIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUP. OREJA REMAINED ACTIVE WITH "TACITO" AND WITH THE NASCENT "PARTIDO POPULAR" WHILE UNDERSECRETARY IN THE MFA.

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4. OREJA HAS ACQUIRED AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PROFILE AND A MODEST POLITICAL BASE. HIS ARTICLES DEFENDING A RETURN TO THE PRE-EXISTING PATTERN OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE BASQUE PROVINCES AND THE CENTRAL GOVT HAVE HELPED MAKE HIM POPULAR IN HIS NATIVE PROVINCE OF GUIPUZCOA WHICH HE REPRESENTS IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND THE "CORTES". THERE HAS BEEN SOME CRITICISM AMONG HIS FRIENDS IN THE "PARTIDO POPULAR" ABOUT HIS WILLING-

NESS TO ENTER THE SUAREZ GOVT BUT NO SERIOUS DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE TO HIS IMAGE AS A YOUNG (41) PROGRESSIVE REFORMER. HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO DO WHAT HE CAN TO PRESERVE THIS IMAGE AND TO STRENGTHEN HIS POLITICAL BASE. IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT OREJA IS PLAYING A LEADING ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTERNAL POLITICAL PROGRAM. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S SMALL "BRAIN TRUST".

5. IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENTS OREJA HAS SAID THAT HE WILL FOLLOW THE MAIN GUIDELINES OF THE POLICIES OF HIS PREDECESSOR. (AREILZA CONCENTRATED ON FIVE ISSUES DURING HIS RELATIVELY BRIEF TENURE: (1) THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH THE US; (2) AN IMPROVED SPANISH IMAGE ABROAD; (3) RELATIONS WITH THE EC; (4) RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN; AND (5) LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR BROADENING SPAIN'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.) THE US TREATY CONCLUDED, OREJA CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE THE EFFORTS AIMED TOWARD EVENTUAL FULL PARTNERSHIP IN THE EC AND TOWARD A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE VATICAN. THE OBJECTIVE OF NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH MEXICO, ISRAEL, AND EAST EUROPE, WITH WHOM SPAIN ALREADY HAS ALL SORTS OF TIES, WILL BE PURSUED ALTHOUGH WITHOUT PRECIPITATION. PORTUGAL WILL COMMAND HIS ATTENTION FROM TIME TO TIME. RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO, PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL OF SPAIN'S NEIGHBORS, PRESENT A MAJOR TASK: PUTTING INTO CONCRETE AGREEMENTS THE PLEDGES BY SUCCESSIVE SPANISH AND MOROCCAN GOVTS TO IMPROVE MUTUAL RELATIONS FOLLOWING THE SAHARAN CRISIS. AT THE SAME TIME HE WILL, BY TEMPERAMENT AND INTEREST, PAY ATTENTION TO THE US/SPAIN RELATIONSHIP.

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6. OREJA'S STYLE IS DIFFERENT THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, WHO WAS WONT TO SURROUND HIS COMINGS AND GOINGS WITH MUCH PUBLICITY AS IF HE WERE THE SOLE ARCHITECT OF SPANISH POLICY, FOREIGN AND INTERNAL. OREJA IS LIKELY TO BE MORE LOW-KEY AND TO LIMIT HIMSELF LARGELY THOUGH NOT ENTIRELY TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN HIS PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. HE LACKS, AT THIS TIME, AREILZA'S POLITICAL WEIGHT AND IS SHREWD ENOUGH NOT TO TRY TO MAKE UP FOR IT BY TRYING TO RUN A ONE-MAN SHOW. BUT HE IS AN ATTRACTIVE PUBLIC PERSONALITY WITH CONSIDERABLE PRESTIGE FROM HIS TACITO LEADERSHIP AND CAN GROW QUICKLY POLITICALLY. OREJA WAS GIVEN A FREE HAND BY AREILZA IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MFA AND MOST OF THE DIRECTORS GENERAL NOW THERE, INCLUDING THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WERE HAND

PICKED BY OREJA. HE HAS ALSO BEEN INTERESTED IN  
DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE PLANNING STAFF IN THE MFA  
AND, WHILE UNDERSECRETARY, DISCUSSED THE IDEA  
WITH US OFFICIALS. HE ALSO HAS MUCH EXPERIENCE  
IN CHURCH MATTERS AND HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO PLAY  
A KEY ROLE IN MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE  
VATICAN TO A CONCLUSION WHICH WILL BE IN HARMONY  
WITH AN UPDATING OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN  
SPAIN.  
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